Fellowship
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UNDER THE SURFACE -- THE DEBATE INTENSIFIES

Apart from dealing with the stream of Moscow-postmarked letters (the cur- t joke is that the Russians have far outstripped us in the development of the ercontinental guided missive), Washington's principal occupation these days ems to be the suppression of any real discussion of American foreign policy. ler the surface the turbulence grows, however, and sometimes shows signs of aking out into the open.

Latest major attack came from George F. Kennan, former ambassador to scow and former Chief of the State Department's Policy Planning Division. Mr. Kennan, in six lectures for the BBC, subsequently in magazine articles (see Chance to Withdraw Our Troops in ope,"--*Harper's*, Feb. 1958) has pro- ed a policy of "disengagement."

Mr. Kennan underscores the imminent ger of a totally destructive war, sees no e whatever in the "continued multipli- on of the destructiveness and speed of very of the major atomic weapons," and racterizes the concept of "limited war" 'a very slender and wishful hope indeed." He proposes that both Soviet and British- erican forces be withdrawn "from the rt of the Continent," and that countries olved be induced not to build atomic s. Thus the dangers inherent in face-to- confrontation would be reduced, the mpetition between two political philos- ies" could go on without war, and the ntries now occupied by Soviet troops ld have a chance to develop their own itutions and systems.

The Kennan proposals were greeted with age and dismay. Former Secretary of e Dean Acheson hastened to reassure world that Kennan did not speak for the nocrats, and that in this matter he and Dulles stand shoulder to shoulder.

Yet the debate goes on. Scientists, po- cal leaders, educators and writers show easing restiveness over the inflexi- ty of a policy that Walter Lippman de- bes as contemplating only "uncondition- surrender" on the part of Russia and China.

For pacifists, who see the only realism

(Continued on next page)

'Let Us Walk Like Men'

"...What sort of life is it to which these devotees of the weapons race would see us condemned? The technological realities of this competition are constantly changing from month to month and from year to year. Are we to flee like haunted creatures from one defensive device to another, each more costly and humiliating than the one before, cowering underground one day, breaking up our cities the next attempting to surround ourselves with elaborate electronic shields on the third, concerned only to prolong the length of our lives while sacrificing all the values for which it might be worthwhile to live at all? If I thought that this was the best the future held for us, I should be tempted to join those who say, 'Let us divest ourselves of this weapon altogether; let us stake our safety on God's grace and our own good consciences and on that measure of common sense and humanity which even our adversaries possess; but then let us at least walk like men, with our heads up, so long as we are permitted to walk at all.'"

--George F. Kennan, in *Harper's*, February 1958

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Under the Surface *(cont'd)*

as the total abandonment of war, the debate still skirts the main issues. But they will recognize the significance of the Kennan choice of unilateral disarmament over continuation of the present policy (see box), and in his proposal that "defense" for Western European nations may be found most surely in a force trained for "civil resistance." The Kennan force would still be equipped with "light arms," but the proposition even so is a long step in the direction of nonviolent resistance. The real debate may soon be joined.

Golden Rule Sails for H-Bomb Test Area

A 30-foot ketch called "Golden Rule" (see cut), manned by four pacifists, sailed

out of San Pedro harbor (Los Angeles) sho after noon on Monday, February 10, bo for the Marshall Islands. The ketch's miss was one of protest against the nuclear te planned for that area by the U. S. and sch uled for April. The men aboard her had w ten to President Eisenhower of their int tion to speak "with the weight of our wh lives" against the continued preparation nuclear war. They plan to sail into "forbidden area" and to remain there "co what may."

No answer had been received from President, and no indication had come as the government's possible actions agai the men. *Newsweek* (Feb. 10) quoted an named Defense official as admitting that project might "face us with a real dilem The question is, do we have the right to clare large sections of the high seas limits?"

That was still the question as the ke sailed. No apparent effort had been made stop the "Golden Rule," though the pos bility remained a live one right up to sa ing time.

Three hundred pacifists of the Los A geles area met on the pier for a prayer me ing on Sunday. Crew of the ketch are Alb Bigelow, architect and former Navy co mander; William Huntington, also an arc tect and a former CPS man; George Willough executive secretary of the Central Co mittee for Conscientious Objectors; David Gale, recent graduate of Macales College. Bigelow, Huntington and Willough are Quakers; Gale is a Presbyterian. Hu ington, Willoughby and Gale are all F members.

The project has had considerable p licity. Most notable was a half-hour program in New York, with Huntington A. J. Muste being interviewed on "Prob Tape recordings of the program are availa from FOR at Nyack, for purchase on 3 3/4" speed, $4; 7½" speed, $5.

The Committee for Nonviolent Act Against Nuclear Tests, which is sponso the voyage, reports contributions so fa about $6,000 against a total of $31, needed for the voyage.

Muste to Lead Tour

A. J. Muste, FOR secretary-emeritu will take place of Kirby Page as co-lea

Baptist Peace Fellowship's 44-day ace and Spiritual Life Tour" this sum- Tour, leaving New York June 15, will d 12 days in Poland and Soviet Union, ompanied by IFOR Secretaries Andre and da Trocme, Hildegard Mayr, and Jean s, and FOR leaders Hannes de Graaf lland) and Heinz Kloppenburg (Germany). ails from W. M. Hammond Jr., Horizons imited, 303 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

mpulsory ROTC led at MIT

Compulsory military training for freshmen sophomores has been ended by vote of faculty at the Massachusetts Institute Technology. The change to completely ctive ROTC goes into effect next tember.

The move has been credited to persist- efforts of students and faculty. The sultingly low level" of ROTC instruction ch led to widespread cheating, was a or factor in the decision, according to informant. Another was the growing tration of scientists with military se- ty procedures, which may have had an ct on faculty attitudes toward military gs in general.

Conscientious objectors at MIT could ure exemption from ROTC by petitioning faculty and taking an alternative course "International Arbitration." In recent rs exemptions have been difficult to get ever; one CO reportedly secured his y when a psychiatrist stated that the ning would be damaging to his mental lth.

Efforts to abolish compulsory ROTC are o known to be under way at the Univer- es of Wisconsin and Indiana.

reats, Conferences p Headquarters Busy

cheduling of retreats and conferences ecoming an increasingly important part ife at Shadowcliff, the FOR national dquarters at Nyack, N.Y.

eventy young Methodists from Michigan ted the former mansion in January, as of a high school seminar, and heard d Secretary Glenn Smiley present the fist position.

The weekend of February 8 brought thirty seminarians for a conference on pacifism, through the efforts of Youth Secretary Curtiss Moody.

In March some thirty high-school age Massachusetts Episcopalians will spend three days at Nyack, with April bringing a group all the way from Kansas.

Discussions are under way also on a possible month-long workshop on audio-visual aids for the pacifist movement, tentatively set for July.

Noted in Brief

IFOR Vienna secretary Hildegard Mayr will visit the U.S. on 3-month speaking trip next fall...Canon Charles E. Raven, British FOR leader and chaplain to the Queen, is Visiting Professor of the Philosophy of Science at U. of Cincinnati College of Medicine starting in March...HR 8308 (Humane Slaughter Bill) is supposed to come before the House of Representatives this month, and should be supported...Corl A. Leach, editor of the *Dairy Goat Journal* and the FOR's representative on the board of directors of Heifer Project Inc. has been re-elected vice-chairman of the board. FOR's other representative is Rev. Samuel Snyder, of Westminster, Md...Aldous Huxley and Pitirim A. Sorokin join the list of *Fellowship's* contributing editors this month...95 members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra signed a petition to end nuclear tests and sent it to the White House...And two atomic scientists writing in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* estimated that the death toll resulting from an all-out H-bomb attack on the U. S. would be 100,000,000 persons.

Quote Unquote

"Their assumption--that the foundation of all systems, moral or social, is the indestructible unit of the single individual--may be nothing but a rebellion against a century in which this idea has fallen into disrepute. But their recognition that what sustains the individual is belief--and their growing conviction that only spiritual beliefs have any lasting validity in a world such as ours--should put their often frenzied behavior in a new light..."

--From *"The Philosophy of the Beat Generation,"* by John Clellon Holmes, *Esquire* February 1958.

Within days of its arrival in Nashville, the FOR's "reconciliation team" had a full schedule for its entire stay in the South. High point is the team's invitation to conduct a nonviolent workshop as the principal feature of Religious Emphasis Week at Fisk University.

Charles Walker, FOR secretary on special assignment to help local groups develop action against nuclear tests and for disarmament, is on the move again. His schedule for latter part of February includes Chicago, South Bend, Milwaukee, Madison, Twin Cities, Indianapolis and St. Louis. You can get on Charles' list to get word of new literature items, program suggestions and occasional memoranda on the test issue by dropping a card to him at Box 271, Nyack,NY.

FOR groups are participating in a planned "march on the UN" from New Haven, Conn., and Philadelphia, Pa., to climax at Easter. Petitions will be presented to the UN Secretary-General. For details, write New England secretary Robert Gussner, 22 Decatur St., Cambridge 39, Mass.

More than 1,000 of the stop-testing petitions sponsored jointly by FOR and AFSC, with 10,000 names, had been received at AFSC office by January 29. Campaign has been extended through February. Additional petitions available free from FOR, Box 271 Nyack, N.Y.

War Resisters International reports "because of whole-hearted support f many FOR groups, Quaker Meetings, sections and hundreds of concemed indiv uals," imprisoned conscientious objec all over the world received thousands Christmas greetings.

A new FOR group has been formed Levittown, Pa., scene of last summ demonstration against a Negro family. Ch man is Harry Forrest.

DATES TO REMEMBER

Reconciliation Team (Smiley, Lawson, Ab nathy). Headquarters, c/o Smiley, 2 Grand, Nashville 12, Tenn. *Feb. 15-* Fisk University; *Feb. 22-23,* Crossville Knoxville, Tenn.; *Feb. 24-25,* Bluefield, *Feb. 26-28,* Durham, N.C.; *Mar. 3-13,* M phis, Little Rock, Dallas, Houston, Jacks Miss.

Feb. 17. FOR National Executive Comm tee Meeting, Sloane House, New York.

Mar. 2,3,4. John Swomley speaks at R gious Emphasis Week, U. of Missouri. details write Richard Sterling, 720 Missc Ave., Columbia, Mo.

National Conferences, April 18-19, Ba more, Md.; *April 25-26,* Cincinnati, Oh *May 2-3,* St. Louis, Mo.

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